THE New Republic

Dr. Eisenhower's Sugar-Coated Pills

An Editorial

Pages 3-4

Vietnam—Shaky Bastion

After three years in Saigon, a British correspondent concludes that despite generous American aid and general acclaim in the West, Vietnam "is one of the least stable countries in Asia."

By DAVID HOTHAM

A Catholic for President? . . . *Helen Hill Miller*

The Ears of Midas . . . . . *Gerald W. Johnson*

Angus Wilson's England . . . . *Michael Millgate*

Cut in the Rediscount Rate . . . *Sumner Slichter*

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Washington Wire

Look Up

THE SPUTNIKS have been an almost unalloyed blessing to the United States, we believe. They have scared the pants off America. Are we winning the cold war? Look up in the sky.

The Administration had made a big, secret cut-back of defense research; Sputnik restored it. MIT's Killian has become missile coordinator, a step that should have been taken years ago. And the Administration is reducing defense secrecy, re-opening its budget, reviewing its NATO supports . . . Splendid. So far as it goes. But Sputnik is still there.

More important, Sputnik has thrown a chill into Americans about education. Most of us had a vague notion that we were in some sort of competition with Moscow and that we were winning. Well. . . look up in the sky. The average public school teacher's salary today in America is $275 a year less than the average full-time wage for a factory production worker. The Soviets are graduating roughly twice as many new scientists and engineers as we. The result? Look up in the sky.

These things tend to happen in a "business" administration. Don't forget it was the US Chamber of Commerce which spearheaded defeat of the Federal aid-to-education bill. It was Charlie Wilson who didn't believe in government basic research. Treasury Secretary Humphrey led the fight to cut the budget.

Businessmen have great virtues, but they are dangerous people to let run a country. They are trained to see things in dollars, in profits, in policies that avoid deficits at all costs. They condescend to education, despise experts, hate big government. Few businessmen make good in politics. If business isn't careful today, it will come into as great disrepute as under Hoover.

Eisenhower plans to make two more "chins-up" speeches. We hope he doesn't. It is not that they are boring and that he evidently has little to say. It is that he tends to fog public reaction to Sputnik, to confuse it, to asphyxiate it. As we see it, the public is way ahead of Eisenhower in its demand for action. For the first time it is shaking off the grip of the Father-Image—thinking for itself. This is enormously encouraging.

"Disenchantment"

IT IS SAD to see Eisenhower become the butt of jokes. A favorite current one is to refer to the White House as "the tomb of the well-known soldier."

The NY Financial Writers Association put on their annual skits in Manhattan last week before "more than 1,500 top figures in finance, industry, government and labor," according to the *NY Times*. The theme? "Disenchantment," reflecting disappointment — of tycoons toward Eisenhower. The jokes didn't sound funny to us in print but the point was there all right—an opening chorus of supposed businessmen singing they were better off under Truman.

What the country now sees is the conjunction of three ominous circumstances for the first time—in American history. First, our peculiar government permits one party to control Congress and another the White House—often this produces deadlock and drift. We have that situation now. Second, our government is built around the Presidential principle as the source of planning and dynamic action. But instead of a strong President we have a weak one: mentally unimaginative and physically incapable of protracted strain so that he must take frequent vacations. The first two of these are unlucky conjunctions that have occurred before, but the third coincides with them for the first time—America is now threatened by a military rival equal to us in lethal weapons. Maybe superior.

What really scares us is to see Eisenhower under these circumstances trying to administer another tranquillity pill. We wonder how many readers share this alarm. Instead of a bold plan it appears that he is going to put the budget up to Congress. He talks about keeping it at the present inadequate level; balancing increased defense expenditures with cuts in other items. What a picture! Meet the threat of Sputnik by dropping the school lunch program. . . .

The President could learn much of the national mood at his press conferences by the questions showered at him. But he has almost dropped them. He has held only five in the 15 weeks since August 7. FDR would have held 30 in that space.

Funniest item we saw in the press last week was *Time* magazine's summary of the Washington scene after the Eisenhower chins-up speech. " . . . It helped revive the President's prestige when it was sinking fast," said loyal *Time*. "There was still confusion on details and next steps, but it was the healthy kind of confusion that comes from bustling activity." Good old *Time*. Good old "healthy confusion."

Taking off the Brakes

AMERICA is now in its first planned recession. It was created by the doctrinaires in the Reserve Board who held on to their credit restraint policy too long. It should not be a big recession, maybe 4 million unemployed this winter. (That ought to teach those unions not to strike!) We think the recession was unnecessary. The country has huge reserve productive capacity and huge consumer demand and there is no reason except an artificial one why they can't meet. The Reserve Board finally acknowledged the recession by reversing its brake on credit and lowering its rediscount rate. This caught the US Chamber of Commerce by surprise. A cozy little "labor surplus" is fine for the Chamber, it will make labor more tractable. (Not mentioned is that tight credit has been sending up the small business bankruptcy rate.) When the Reserve Board reversed its policy the Chamber's weekly letter was already in the mail explaining why the Federal Reserve Board wouldn't loosen the brake because you can't build prosperity on an inflation "bubble."

T.R.B.

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Correspondence

► *The Russian Revolution*

SIRS:

GUS TYLER has given us (*NR*, Nov. 4) a most ambitious survey which befits so ambitious a phenomenon as the Russian Revolution's 40 years. But perhaps his most important query—what of the next 40 years—comes too late in the articles and gets the least satisfying treatment. There is a moving wisdom, to be

(Continued on page 23)

Lecture Two

WHAT THE President seemed to have to tell the American people from Oklahoma City on Wednesday, November 13, can hardly have surprised anyone: our present defense effort is unsatisfactory and a more satisfactory one is going to cost more. He sugared the pill as much as he could by saying that we should continue "to save every dime that can possibly be saved" on defense, and by holding out the prospect that some of the civilian activities of the federal government, which "while desirable, are not absolutely essential," may be eliminated. What, after the five years in office of an economy administration, those non-essential activities are we cannot imagine.

The American people, the President said, "will not sacrifice security worshipping a balanced budget," even though "we do not forget, either, that over the long term a balanced budget is one indispensable aid in keeping our economy, and therefore our total security, strong." There was no mention of higher taxes, however, and no suggestion that the debt ceiling might have to be raised. In fact, other spokesmen for the Administration followed up immediately by explaining that what the President was referring to was, in fact, only a minor increase in defense expenditures, and that, while a tax *cut* would not be possible, there was certainly no intention of *raising* taxes. Either the Sputnik magic has limits, or we are to be fed the bad news one pill at a time.

Certainly we are to spend considerably more on research and development, if recent events in Washington mean anything. And, as the President said himself, we have not yet had to face the cost of producing and installing the long-range missiles that are now being developed. Moreover, he is dead set against cutting the mutual assistance programs and foreign economic aid (quite rightly, we believe), and we are offered a modicum of reassurance on another point when he says that we are not "to eliminate conventional forces and rely solely on retaliation." But also, it is clear that we must spend more on the retaliatory forces we now have. SAC, the President said, repeating what he said a week earlier, must be further dispersed, and our warning lines must give us more advanced notice of attack. There was even belated recognition that our military must be better paid. When he summarized by saying that "all these costs, which in the aggregate will reach a very considerable figure, must be added to our current annual expenditures for security," because "there is no immediate prospect for any marked reduction in these recurring costs," it did not have the sound of a minor increase.

We had hoped that at this moment, with the American people numbed by the realization that our security is only second best, Eisenhower's leadership would be more decisive than in the past. Apparently we were hoping for the impossible. The Administration voice is still various, and our nerves are likely to undergo considerable stress before it becomes clear which counsels are to prevail.

NOV 21

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American Education And the Sciences

THE PRESIDENT recognized, at Oklahoma City, the importance of "two longer term problems: strengthening our scientific education and our basic research." "According to my scientific advisers," he said, the first of these "is for the American people the most critical problem of all."

The fact has begun to sink in that when a Russian graduates from high school he has completed 10 years of mathematics, five years of physics and biology, one year of astronomy, and five years of a foreign language.

The fact that the Soviet Union is graduating twice as many scientists and engineers as the US and all the NATO countries combined is beginning to penetrate too —and along with it the realization of what this means to the future growth of Soviet technology.

As a result, even the most economy-minded members of Congress will, we are ready to bet, be prepared to support a considerable expansion of federal assistance to scientific training when the new session begins. The climate will be favorable to all the specific ideas the President mentioned for speeding the production of scientists:

> a system of nationwide testing of high school students; a system of incentives for high-aptitude students to pursue scientific or professional studies; a program to stimulate good quality teaching of mathematics and sciences; provision of more laboratory facilities, and measures, including fellowships, to increase the output of qualified teachers.

Congress and the public will also be inclined to agree with the President that we need "even greater concentration on basic research—that is the kind that unlocks the secrets of nature and prepares the way for such breakthroughs as atomic fission, electronics and anti-biotics." And with even moderate coaxing from the White House, Congress will probably support steps to catch up with the immediate level of Soviet scientific education and basic research. Our regret is that the President's speech shows so little understanding of what it will take to do more than that. We hope, therefore, that before the President sends Congress his list of what it should do in these fields he will read and reread the recent speeches and reports of the two experts in his Administration—the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Marion Folsom, and the Director of the National Science Foundation, Dr. Alan Waterman. Both have been making uncommon sense. If what we are concerned with is where this country will stand in scientific achievement 10 to 20 years from now, they tell us, it will not be enough to undertake a "crash" program to mass produce mathematicians, scientists and engineers or simply to increase the proportion of basic research carried on in government laboratories. (Seventy percent of all funds for research are spent by industry and private organizations.)

The first thing is to realize, as Dr. Waterman recently reminded us, that "we cannot train scientists and engineers in a vacuum. We must have a strong educational system with adequate facilities and competent teachers in all subjects from the elementary grades on up." It will take a broad federal aid-to-education program to bring this about—far more than the $1.3 billion school construction program which Congress failed to pass this year, when the President withdrew his support from Secretary Folsom at a critical time in the Congressional battle.

Then, with reference to the special problem of adequate emphasis on science, Mr. Folsom argues that,

> If there is to be a greater appreciation of the broad base needed for scientific and engineering education in America, we will have to reassert a pair of elementary truths, sometimes obscured. One is that we must try to give each American more understanding of science. We must teach more and better science in our schools and colleges, not just to those who plan a career in science and engineering, but to all. And secondly, we have to educate professional scientists and engineers in such a way that they have a broad concept of the relationship between their technical interests and their responsibilities as citizens.

A "crash program" would do the opposite and

> tend to isolate science from the broad community of educational interests and, ultimately, from the whole community on which it depends for moral and material support. For better or for worse, the future of scientific and engineering education is fused with the future of every other valid element in our educational structure.

That structure will need a great deal of repair and expansion if it is to accommodate double the present student population in 10 years time—the number expected to apply for college entrance. Getting and keeping properly trained college faculties is the objective which should have first priority. If every one of those now receiving doctoral degrees in all subjects were to enter teaching, that would not even replace those with such degrees leaving teaching each year. Obviously, more fellowships should be offered those who will enter college teaching. But it won't do much good to train college teachers if, as Mr. Folsom says, "what lies beyond graduate school is social and economic disappointment"—low salaries and lack of respect for the profession.

We need to get better students, as well as better teachers into all fields, not just science. One third of the top quarter of high school graduates don't go on to college now. Every other major nation except the United States offers national scholarships to such students.

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Colleges and universities will have to construct more new facilities in the next 10 years than in the past century. One item, the amazingly expensive equipment needed for modern science, is out of the financial reach of most institutions. The federal government will have to share in the cost if time is not to be lost.

Obviously the dollar cost of all this will be immense, and beyond the resources of all but the wealthiest of our 1,800 institutions of higher learning. But "there can be no question that this richest of all peoples in the world can afford to grasp the opportunities ahead in education," Mr. Folsom says. "It is conceivable that we may have to get along with a little less chrome and perhaps a few less country clubs in order to have more classrooms and better paid teachers." What he means is that we will have to pay higher taxes, but even this brave Modern Republican avoids those horrible words!

☆

The path we should follow in "strengthening our basic research" is equally clear.

> Out of an estimated total of $5.5 billion spent in this country for research and development in 1953 [Dr. Waterman tells us], less than $500 million, or 8 percent, was spent for basic research in the sciences. When we realize that this sum represents less than 1/10 of one percent of the gross national product, we can appreciate what a small proportion of our national effort goes for research at the frontiers of knowledge.

What should we do?

> It is becoming increasingly obvious that the proper support of basic research is indeed a public responsibility. Investigators who are pursuing research unconnected with specific problems, or unrelated to the missions of specific agencies, find it more and more difficult to obtain support for such research. Often the time and energy of able research scientists are consumed with the difficult and distasteful task of seeking sufficient funds to enable them to continue their research during the ensuing year. Such a situation is wasteful of valuable talent and generally unproductive. It is unrealistic to suppose that industry can make up the deficit by extending greater support to basic research. Industry is already being called upon to contribute to general education; and to add the demands of basic research is, in effect, to compete with general education for the same dollars. Even if industry doubled its present research support to universities, this would be merely a drop in the bucket.
>
> Then, too, we must face the fact that the tools required for modern research are more and more beyond the resources of private enterprise. Such instruments as nuclear reactors, nuclear accelerators, large-scale telescopes (both optical and radio telescopes), electronic computers, and other research equipment are beyond the means of a single university, or even groups of universities. That is why the National Science Foundation has undertaken to support, within the limits of its resources, the new radio astronomy observatory, being built and operated at Green Bank, West Virginia, by Associated Universities, Inc.; the National Astronomical Observatory, to be located somewhere in Southwestern United States; and has helped to finance computers, accelerators, and reactors for use in basic research and training. I believe we must accept the fact that this constitutes the pattern for the future.

Certainly, as the President said in Oklahoma, there is "much more to security than money." For one thing there is the quality of the scientific work performed. And the conditions which have surrounded research in the last 10 years have not been such as to assure that another J. Robert Oppenheimer will appear in the next 10. That is a subject on which Mr. Eisenhower did not dwell.

The President might have gone on to add, also, that just as there is more to security than money, there is much more to education than to science. (He did concede that we need Washingtons and Emersons as well as Einsteins.) We need a general educational revival, not merely an accelerated race with the Russians to see who can produce the greatest number of technicians in the next generation. But we find no note in Mr. Eisenhower's first two lectures or in the budget comments made by his Cabinet that suggests he will ask Congress for the added billions in taxes such a revival would require.

Whose News?

THE BRITISH journalist whose pessimistic description of the state of affairs in South Vietnam appears in this issue will undoubtedly be challenged in particulars—perhaps even in some of his main conclusions—but it is hard to read his report without concluding that coverage of this vital Asian front by the American press has been to a greater or lesser extent unbalanced. And what is true for Vietnam holds equally true, we suspect, for Formosa, Korea or any country where American aid is concentrated and American reporters are not.

An explanation for this was discussed last week in San Francisco at the UNESCO conference on US-Asian relations by Albert Ravenholt, correspondent in Southeast Asia for the *Chicago Daily News*. Pleading for more and better American correspondents in Asia, Ravenholt argued that one "pernicious" result of sparse reporting is that more and more of our information about Asia comes out of Washington. Instead of relying on critical, observed-at-first-hand reports, US communications media depend for news and opinions on what is brought back from the foreign field by junketing officials. And since what most officials see and say for public consumption is what the government wants seen and said, this filtered news rarely if ever challenges existing policies, whatever the merit of the policies.

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The Rediscount Rate and the Recession

THE DECISION of four Federal Reserve banks to ease credit is a constructive step that will lessen and shorten the mild contraction of business that is now going on. The rediscount rate has been reduced to 3 percent at a time when the bill rate has been close to 3.5 percent. Since the Federal Reserve likes to keep the bill rate below the rediscount rate, the reduction in the rediscount rate may be interpreted as a signal that the Federal Reserve plans gradually to increase the availability of credit until the bill rate and other interest rates bear an appropriate relationship to a percent rediscount rate. The cut in rediscount rates by the four banks will undoubtedly soon be followed by cuts by the eight other banks. Note that the importance of cuts is not that money will be cheaper, but that the member banks will have more money to lend and to invest.

The $64 question is how quickly and by what processes the greater availability of credit will, under present circumstances, affect the demand for goods. Business as a whole has not been expanding since the first of the year, and in the last two months it has been slowly contracting. Furthermore, some parts of business, especially many branches of manufacturing, have been contracting ever since the first of the year. Finally, the recent McGraw-Hill survey of business investment plans for 1958 shows that some future contraction has recently been built into the economy.

One cannot expect greater availability of credit to halt instantly the contraction of business, but present conditions on the whole are more favorable to good results than were conditions in 1953-54. It is true that a cut of about 10 percent in personal income taxes took effect on January 1, 1954, and that the excess profits tax was terminated at the same date. But these stimulating effects were more than offset by the very drastic drop (about $9 billion a year) in government purchases of goods and services between the last quarter of 1953 and the second quarter of 1954. This time there will be no tax cuts to aid recovery, but there will be a slow upward creep in government spending. The combined effect of easier credit and the upward creep in government spending upon the course of new orders and upon the inventory policies of business will be important. In 1953, there was a change in credit policy and a marked easing of credit in May and June, but the new orders of manufacturers continued to drop until December, 1953, and the index of industrial production dropped from a high of 137 in July, 1953, to 123 in March, 1954, before it ceased dropping. Nor did easier credit in 1953 prevent business concerns from reducing their inventories. Disinvestment in inventories began at a high rate in the fourth quarter of 1953 and continued during the first three quarters of 1954. Since the effects of greater availability of credit take time to work themselves out, it is always important that the adjustments of credit policy to changes in business be made as promptly as possible.

The most immediate effect of greater availability of credit will be upon the capital and money markets. The new policy has in effect put a floor for the time being under the general level of bond prices and greatly improved the conditions for floating new issues. And if the lending capacity of the banks is increased, they will try hard to put their new resources to work. Accommodation to customers that banks have been unwilling or unable to extend will now be extended. By retarding the decrease in the demand for goods, easier credit will diminish the desire of some managements to cut inventories.

Easier credit is likely to be particularly effective in stimulating expenditures on housing. For some months, there has been impressive evidence that the demand for housing is growing. In the last three months construction contract awards for residential housing have been running ahead of the corresponding period of last year. There is general agreement that the most immediate limit on the volume of new housing construction has been the scarcity of mortgage money. Easier credit will relieve this scarcity.

AMONG the last expenditures likely to be affected by easier credit are the outlays of business on plant and equipment. This type of spending usually lags during both recoveries and contractions. In 1954, for example, expenditures on plant and equipment continued to drop slowly for nine months after the economy as a whole had started to expand and for about four months after the index of industrial production began to rise. The recent McGraw-Hill survey showed that nearly all manufacturing industries are operating well below the rate at which they prefer to operate. As production expands and as idle capacity disappears, investment spending plans of business will be revised upward. But this increase in investment plans for 1958 will probably not occur before next spring, and it may not occur until later than that.

In 1953-54, in spite of the tax cuts, fiscal policy and credit policy were working against each other. This time, if the government slowly increases its expenditures, as it seems likely to do, fiscal policy and credit policy will be reinforcing each other. Hence, there is good reason to believe that the present decline in business will be shorter and milder than the contraction of 1953-54. By the spring of 1958, the economy will probably be expanding.

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Nixon, the Russians and Economic Aid

THE FACT that the Soviet Union signed a long-pending $126 million loan agreement with India in the week immediately following Sputnik II is, perhaps, coincidental; but it is a coincidence peculiarly relevant to the present debate over the priorities which are to govern the budget being readied for the January opening of Congress. Some members of Congress are already assuming that money for more missiles should come out of foreign economic aid. And yet, as Adlai Stevenson observed,

> A danger quite as great as Soviet domination by long-range missiles is a Communist economic breakthrough in the underdeveloped areas. If sustained economic growth under democratic auspices fails, people will turn to the Russian example.

In Asia, Africa and the Middle East, the Soviets are now able to argue more convincingly than before the red stars began circling the globe that they offer not only the model but the wherewithal by which newly developing economies can be speeded on their way. When the wherewithal comes in the form of badly-needed factories for heavy machine building (which the Soviets will build for India with a 12-year loan at a 2.5 percent interest rate under the new loan agreement), it is not surprising that even India, so jealous of its freedom of motion, is willing to gear a key part of its industrial economy to Moscow—through the use of Soviet equipment, which means, for years to come, Soviet replacement parts.

Even assuming the Administration gives high priority to economic aid in its January budget requests and miraculously gets what it wants from a Congress less disposed than ever to follow the President, we find little cause for optimism. To be sure, it is encouraging to hear Vice President Nixon say, in speaking to the National Defense Executive Reserve last week, that the non-military Soviet danger is "the major danger." But the aid program which Mr. Nixon is preparing to champion is itself so unrealistically conceived that it is foredoomed to be a poor match indeed for the Soviet challenger.

What is it that the newly developing nations want, above all, from the US and the USSR? *Technical assistance* to impart new agricultural techniques and to train industrial personnel is of course indispensable for the future of all Asian countries. This is the "Point Four" initiated by President Truman — though the term has since been loosely applied to all economic aid. But technical assistance, useful as it is, is relatively painless for the giver. It does not put to the test the willingness of the West to narrow the widening economic gap between haves and have-nots. "Know how" is, as foreign aid goes, cheap; even the President's technical assistance request, at the outset of Congressional bargaining last spring, was only $151.9 million. For this reason, and because the American county agent encamped in the Punjab is a modern successor to American missionaries of another order and another day, technical assistance is the least controversial part of our aid program. To Asians, the test comes in *development assistance*—large-scale capital available on easy credit terms with which they may buy machinery, build factories, transport and power facilities. It is here that the Soviet Union is reaping political rewards with relatively small cash outlays.

First, asks the Asian, does the giver come to help build independent Asian industrial strength which will enable us to catch up with the developed countries, or does he come seeking his own economic advantage? Next, does he attempt to influence domestic power alignments?

A totalitarian state finds it easier to accommodate itself to these Asian sensitivities. Thus, when the Indian Government reserves to itself (under its mixed economy policy) primary rights in the steel and heavy machine-building industries—the very symbols of industrialization—the Soviets can promptly offer to help: the Bhilai steel plant ($115 million), and the machine-building plants projected in the new loan agreement, are depicted as proof that the Soviets genuinely support the *Indian* way of developing the Indian economy.

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The United States, on the other hand, announces it is about to channel all its development assistance to newly developing economies through a new corporation, the Development Loan Fund, which is dedicated to the unpragmatic proposition that private enterprise is preferable to public enterprise in economic development *anywhere*. It is sometimes said that such announcements are intended merely to pacify Congressional critics who might otherwise charge that we are supporting "state socialism" abroad. But this is not so, as anyone may see who reads the declared purposes of the Fund. While governing criteria for the Fund would, according to advance statements, permit assistance to governments for such non-controversial projects as power stations and ports, it would be inconsistent with the Fund's purposes to loan money for any new steel or machine-building plants in India—marked out as these are for government control. (The Fund could, however, assist in the expansion of existing privately-owned plants). Or, to take another industry in which the Indian Government wishes to retain control of new development—the manufacture of electrical equipment—here, too, the usefulness of the Loan Fund is extremely limited. The Fund could assist a US firm, or a private Indian firm, to build a plant—separately, or in cooperation with each other, but not, we are led to believe (and the Indians are led to believe) in cooperation with a controlling Indian Government partner.

We do not dispute the fact that American private capi-

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tal has a vital role to play in Asian economic development, or that the Loan Fund should assist US firms to go to Asia. But that assistance, to be an effective instrument of US policy, should be freed from ideological encumbrances. The economic, political and cultural circumstances out of which our mixed economy (sometimes called "free economy") grew are not found and cannot be duplicated elsewhere. US firms should be assisted to go to Asia irrespective of the degree of government control over a new and needed enterprise. In most cases US capital will ask for additional inducements before it invests further in Asia—or, as will more often be the case, before it takes its technology there—and this *can* be done without by-passing existing public economic policies in Asian countries. For example, Matthew J. Kust, formerly legal counsel to the US aid program in India, will suggest one politically realistic proposal for sweeping tax incentives to US firms in the course of a forthcoming article in these pages.

Unfortunately the Loan Fund is giving a new lease on life to Communist propaganda (discredited until now) that the US uses its aid as a political weapon and as a device for profiting private American citizens. Some substance to that suspicion can, unfortunately, be read into Vice President Nixon's San Francisco speech last month. His proposal for extending to "investors in other parts of the world" the so-called Fourteen Point tax concession (which lobbyists for US investors in Latin America wrote into federal tax laws in the Thirties) would be a windfall for certain US business interests in Canada, where 40 percent of existing US foreign investment is concentrated. Applied to US investments in Canada, this concession, which now reduces taxes on US income earned in Latin American countries from 52 to 38 percent, would save George Humphrey, as one example, as much as $140,000 on every million dollars of income earned from his Canadian aluminum holdings. Yet this would be insufficient inducement to attract *new* investment to the politically uncertain areas of Asia and Africa which were emphasized in Nixon's speech. Behind the imposing words about US private capital mobilized for battle against Asian Communism lies, we are afraid, something quite different.

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Similarly, when Rep. Walter H. Judd (R., Minn.), in his capacity as a US delegate to the United Nations, announced that our government would be willing to put $38 million into a newly-expanded UN technical assistance program, how did Asians respond? While the American press was reporting what seemed to be a new US shift to multilateral aid (which this journal has long supported), Asians and Latin Americans were pointing out that expansion of the UN's valuable Technical Assistance Administration was no substitute for development assistance through SUNFED—the proposed Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development—which our government has snubbed for eight years. Moreover, Representative Judd echoed Nixon's San Francisco speech and former ICA Administrator John B. Hollister's recent policy directive, proscribing the use of aid funds in public economic development in all but exceptional cases, when he said at the UN that "private capital must be the real source of development in any nation." Is every other source *unreal?*

What hurts the most is that the Soviet bluff might so easily be called. The Soviet Union could not and would not, we believe, match a substantial, flexible program of long-term US credit to the newly developing nations. And if the Soviets did call our bluff, so much the better. For would not the real loser in a stable India, Indonesia or Ghana be the local Communist party?

NO SECRETS

THE Western Powers are now agreed,
And closer than before,
They make up with atomic speed
And amity restore;
Their secrets are in time of need
No secrets any more.

At every summit meeting they
Declare their high regard;
No knowledge will be looked away,
No information barred—
Though neither friend until today
Would trust his friend one yard.

The people's safety in their care
They feared to sacrifice,
(Each blowing up in his own air
His nuclear device)
Their know-how they refused to share,
And now they pay the price.

The need for close security,
Though friends, they did not doubt,
What each kept under lock and key
The other did without,
And now exchanges will be free,
The secrets are all out.

While watching their potential foe
Make rings around the earth,
They must begin again; they know
A new age comes to birth—
And those old secrets both may show,
What are those secrets worth?

Though friend with friend would take no chance,
(World safety their design)
Faced with an ominous advance
Both Western Powers combine,
To make the West as safe as France
Behind the Maginot Line.

SAGITTARIUS

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The Superficial Aspect

The Ears of Midas

THE Triumph of the Egghead is so complete, so shattering, so devastating that it seems rather unsporting to rub it in. Since Sputnik appeared in the heavens the scramble to cram higher mathematics into the head of every sophomore has become a stampede; and at least one genius has come up with a scheme to carry the calculus down as far as the eighth grade. But yesterday it was an Article of Faith that the only brains worthy of respect are such as it takes to meet a payroll; today it is horrifyingly clear that we needed J. Robert Oppenheimer a great deal more than we needed Joe McCarthy, and that would still be true were the scientist surrounded by a whole harem of Communist concubines and the Senator by a whole platoon of Cohns and Schines.

This sudden reversal of the flight from intelligence is not attributable to anything the eggheads have said or done. It is the gift of the Great Bear, but it is not less valuable on account of its source. Indeed it is more valuable, for it cannot possibly be dismissed as an effect of the sophistry of Adlai Stevenson, or the superciliousness of Dean Acheson, or even as a vestigial remainder of the treason to his class of That Man. It is just a fact.

The effect of the injection of brutal fact into the dream-world of the present Administration has been strongly reminiscent of the sudden appearance of a skunk in a hen-house. The fluttering and squawking have beggared description. The President's effort to reduce the clamor to some sort of coherent utterance was far from successful; it was, rather, a betrayal of the fact that Mr. Eisenhower is no less confused than his underlings.

There was a moment when the President, introducing the name of the learned Dr. Killian, seemed about to say something, but analysis of the full text of the speech dissipates the impression. What Dr. Killian is to do, what he controls, the area in which he is to operate—none of this is clear. It is not certain that he is in actual contact with anything on earth. One is driven to suspect that the President was making propaganda after the Russian fashion, only more so; where they used a dog, he has taken a professor and shot him into outer space. But it is doubtful that the effect will be as great.

As for the smaller fry, they are so completely unstrung that only one has presented, thus far, anything that hangs together at all. That one is Dr. Von Braun, the German V-2 designer the Army has been using lately, and even his explanation is somewhat shopworn. Dr. Von Braun asserts that it is all Truman's fault for wasting time on the hydrogen bomb when he might have been working on guided missiles. Dr. Von Braun plainly has his uses; so far he seems unable to build a guided missile, but give him credit for building an alibi, and right now an alibi is what the Administration needs.

The one-party press is doing what it can, but even its ingenuity is unequal to the task of covering up the fact that the failure was a failure to use in the most efficient way the brains that were available. The cult of the Balanced Budget was no substitute for the egghead; it has not balanced the budget and it has produced an embarrassing exposure of our lack of respect for non-financial thinking.

Well, the eggheads have been contending for five and a half years that turning the Cabinet into a millionaires' club was not a good idea because the golden touch is not all the equipment necessary for running a nation. Twice the country has voted that the eggheads were addled, but the Great Bear voted the other way, and when the new moon rose upon a startled world it was his, not ours. To recover the prestige lost at that moment will probably cost a great deal more than the men of the golden touch have saved.

The message of the satellite, the radio experts say, was simply "beep-beep," which everyone translates according to his own fancy, from the optimists who hear in it only the Chorus of the Frogs, to the pessimists who translate it as *"mene, mene, tekel upharsin,"* the inscription on Belshazzar's wall.

FOR MY PART, I find it somewhat like the sound of the reeds shaken by the wind, according to the tale told by Ovid. Sputnik is unquestionably a revelation of how a nation may fall behind when it casts out the eggheads and intrusts its destiny to men of the golden touch. One such in ancient times, says Ovid, was served by a barber whose professional service revealed to him a secret so dreadful that he dared not breathe it to any human being, yet so sensational that if he kept it to himself he felt that he would burst. So he dug a hole in the ground and whispered it into the earth; but reeds sprang up at the place, and when they were moved by the wind broadcast the secret to the world.

Is there not a parable for us in this? Sputnik has sprung higher than any reed, to be sure, but what it writes across the sky may be translated by the very same words: "Midas has asses' ears."

GERALD W. JOHNSON

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A Catholic for President?

II-Catholic Doctrine and the First Amendment

by HELEN HILL MILLER

THE CIRCUMSTANCES surrounding a Catholic candidacy for President of the United States have changed so greatly since 1928 that today an issue which was then only one of many—and in the opinion of knowledgeable observers not even one of the sharpest—becomes easier to isolate: what is the Catholic attitude toward the American constitutional doctrine contained in the first phrase of the First Amendment, the doctrine of separation of church and state?

In the wording of the amendment itself: "Congress shall make no law regarding an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." To what extent does this doctrine of toleration, and its preclusion of an established church, run counter to Catholic teaching?

The general world-wide policy of the Catholic Church regards establishment as the ideal relationship between spiritual and temporal authority, with a division of function based on the teaching, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical on the Christian Constitution of States declared:

> The Almighty has appointed the charge of the human race between two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil, the one being set over divine, and the other over human things. Each in its kind is supreme, each has fixed limits within which it is contained, limits which are defined by the nature and special object of the province of each, so that there is, we may say, an orbit traced out within which the action of each is brought into play by its own native right. Whatever in things human is of a sacred character, whatever belongs either of its own nature or by reason of the end to which it is referred, to the salvation of souls, or to the worship of God, is subject to the power and judgment of the Church. Whatever is to be ranged under the civil and political order is rightly subject to the civil authority. . . . It is not lawful for the State, any more than for the individual, either to disregard all religious duties, or to hold in equal favor different kinds of religion.

This statement would seem to face the American citizen who is a Catholic with the burdensome task of fixing a clear line between the two realms and the duty of working toward a Catholic establishment. Yet Catholic thought on the subject is not monolithic. In various countries of Western Europe in recent times the left wings of the Christian Democratic parties, evidencing a Catholic form of anti-clericalism, have contended that while it is right for a Catholic, in or out of public office, to be inspired by the church *(sentire cum ecclesia)*, it is not right for a lay organization such as the state to be manipulated by the hierarchy.

Their general view has been essentially that presented in systematic form by the French religious philosopher Jacques Maritain. Maritain himself was converted to Catholicism in the early years of the century; he served as French Ambassador to the Holy See during 1945-48, and now lives as professor emeritus of Princeton University in this country. In his Walgreen lectures at the University of Chicago in 1950, later published as *Man and the State,* he developed the thesis that

> the historic climate of modern civilization, in contradistinction to medieval civilization, is that of a "lay" or "secular," not a "sacral" civilization. On the one hand, the dominant dynamic idea is not the idea of strength or fortitude in the service of justice, but rather that of the conquest of freedom and the realization of human dignity. On the other hand, the root requirement for a healthy mutual cooperation between the Church and the body politic is not the unity of a religio-political body, such as was the *res publica Christiana* of the Middle Ages, but the very unity of the human person, at one and the same time a member of the body politic and of the Church if he freely adheres to it. The unity of religion is not a prerequisite for political unity, and men subscribing to diverse religious or non-religious creeds have to share in the work for the same political or temporal common good. . . .
>
> Many consequences follow. First, the political power

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> is not the secular arm of the spiritual power; the body politic is autonomous and independent within its own sphere. Second, the equality of all members of the body politic has been recognized as a basic principle. Third, the importance of the inner forces at work in the human person, in contradistinction to the external forces of coercion; the freedom of individual conscience with regard to the State; the axiom—always taught by the Catholic Church, but disregarded as a rule by princes and kings of old—that faith cannot be imposed by constraint—all these assertions have become, more explicitly than before, crucial assets to civilization, and must be specifically emphasized if we are to escape the worst dangers of perversion of the social order and of state totalitarianism. Fourth, a reasoned conviction has developed, at least in those parts of the world where love for freedom is still treasured—and grows all the more keen as the threat to freedom grows—that nothing more imperils both the common good of the earthly city, and the supra-temporal interests of truth in human minds than a weakening and breaking down of the internal springs of conscience. Common consciousness has also become aware that freedom of inquiry, even at the risk of error, is the normal prerequisite for mankind to gain access to truth; so that freedom to seek God in their own way (for those who have been brought up in ignorance or semi-ignorance of Him) is the normal state in which to hearken to the gospel message and the teachings of the Church, when grace will give light to their souls.

It is perhaps significant for the future of this point of view that the Archbishop of Milan, Giovanni B. Montini, former Vatican Pro-Secretary of State for Ordinary Affairs and often mentioned in the politics of the church as a likely candidate for election as the next Pope, made the following statement a few weeks ago when addressing the Second World Congress of the Lay Apostolate:

> The studies conducted by Catholic philosophers and scholars on the subject of Christian humanism—for example, Jacques Maritain—can make a great contribution to our thoughts and actions.

In the United States, both the "lay" or liberal and the "sacral" or conservative views of the relation between church and state have been presented by Catholic advocates who keyed their declarations to US constitutional doctrine. The late James, Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore, in his *Catholic Teaching on Church and State,* had this to say:

> But while the union is *ideally* best, history assuredly does not prove that it is always *practically* best. . . . In our country separation is a necessity; and it is a separation that works best for the interest of religion —as well as for the good of the state.

On the other hand, the late Monsignor John A. Ryan's *The State and the Church,* written in the 1920's and revised just before World War II under the title *Catholic Principles of Politics,* affirms:

> But Constitutions can be changed, and non-Catholic sects may decline to such a point that the political proscription of them may become feasible and expedient. . . . [A Catholic state] could logically tolerate only such religious activities as were confined to the members of the dissenting group. It could not permit them to carry on general propaganda nor accord their organization certain privileges that had formerly been extended to all religious corporations, for example, exemption from taxation.

Within the last few years, also, a lively exchange has taken place in the Catholic *American Ecclesiastical Review* and *Theological Studies* between Fathers George Shea, Joseph Fenton and Francis Connell, on the one hand, who defend the position described by Father Ryan, and Father John Courtney Murray on the other hand. Father Murray's view is that church doctrines which developed in the age of monarchical absolutism in Europe are inappropriate in the United States, where different conditions have always obtained. He points out that the American First Amendment was not written as a denial of the importance of religion; it was a limitation set on government to prevent it from imposing a religious orthodoxy or interfering with religious faith or practice. Therefore, Father Murray says, American Catholics need no longer adhere to the idea that Catholicism must be the religion of the state, or feel themselves obligated to work for establishment as the ideal relationship between temporal and spiritual power.

MANY Protestants, however, are wary lest American Catholic acceptance of separation of church and state, though convenient in the historic context of the Catholics as a minority group in the population, might, as Father Ryan's text indicates, not outlast a period in which Catholics became dominant. In 1948 the Protestant weekly *The Christian Century* ran a number of articles considering the problems of church establishment as they have been met in Scotland and Hungary, and followed these with a series on American phases of the issue, particularly the problems of establishment as brought out in postwar court cases affecting the public schools.

The most important of these articles on "Church, State, and Constitution" was written by Charles Clayton Morrison on the 160th anniversary of the adoption of the First Amendment, after the Supreme Court's decision in the McCollum case involving released time for religious instruction. It analyzed the ensuing revival among Protestants of arguments which had been heard back in the 1780's when the country's first Statute of Religious Freedom was struggling for acceptance in the

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Virginia legislature. In the Virginia Assembly at that time, there was unanimous opposition to maintenance of the Church of England as the exclusively established church. But advocates of religious freedom were divided between Jefferson's proposal for complete separation, and an alternative, supported among others by Patrick Henry, which envisioned state tax support for religion in general, to be allocated among the several sects according to membership, on a basis of equality. The Jeffersonian version finally carried, but only after exercise of all of Madison's parliamentary skill, and Patrick Henry's removal from the legislature through election to the governorship.

It was Jefferson's doctrine to which Justice Felix Frankfurter resubscribed in 1948 when he said: "Separation is a requirement to abstain from fusing the functions of government and of religious sects, not merely to treat them all equally." Morrison's comment in *The Christian Century* closed with the affirmation:

> The First Amendment to our Constitution . . . opened the road to both political and religious freedom by making mandatory the separation of church and state. For 160 years this freedom, and, under God, this self-dependence of the church, has been maintained to the incalculable good of our culture, our politics and our religious life. At our peril we trespass upon this sacred right of separation or tamper with the Constitution which has ordained it.

The extent to which Protestants share this view in a dogged determination to prevent political recognition of religious bodies was shown by the violence of feeling that broke in a storm over President Truman's head in 1951 on the issue of US representation at the Vatican.

BEGINNING in 1939, the Episcopal industrialist Myron C. Taylor had served both President Roosevelt and President Truman as a personal representative to His Holiness Pius XII with the rank of ambassador. After Taylor resigned, Truman (impelled, it is said, by the importance which Allen Dulles attached to an observer at the Holy See) initiated the public furore by submitting to the Senate the nomination of General Mark Clark, another Episcopalian, as a formal ambassador to the Vatican. That would have made him a regular member of the US Foreign Service, normally reporting to the State Department rather than to the Executive Offices of the President; in Rome he would have been a diplomat coordinate with the US ambassador to Italy. Public reaction flooded Congressional and White House offices; whether looked on as accreditation to the Papacy as a secular power or to the Pope as the sovereign head of a world-wide spiritual community, this recognition proved so clearly unacceptable that President Truman, taking advantage of General Clark's desire to retain his military status, withdrew the nomination. President Eisenhower has proposed no comparable appointment.

But it is the use of state funds for services connected with parochial schools that provoke the most frequent incidents in this controversy over church-state relations. Dean Ribble of the law school at Mr. Jefferson's university remarked recently that court cases on tax-paid school bus transportation for parochial schools, released time and use of school buildings for religious instruction, etc. etc., were turning Jefferson's "wall of separation between church and state" into a serpentine wall. Nineteen states now transport parochial school pupils; five furnish them free text books.

When measures to provide these and other services are before state legislatures, the Catholic church frequently behaves like any other organized lobby. This past May in Connecticut, where Republican and Democratic strength are exceptionally evenly balanced, a school bus bill became law by a tie-breaking vote of the Congregationalist Speaker of the House of Representatives.

During the preceding struggle, the diocesan publication of Archbishop Henry J. O'Brien of Hartford induced top-level action on the part of the Republican National Committee chairman by accusing the Republican Party of making a political issue of the bill. It warned that "a political issue can only be corrected at the polls. This one will be." A pastoral letter, read at all masses in the state on the Sunday before the vote, counseled Catholic parents that "since more than 62 percent of the children born in Connecticut in 1956 are Catholic, you should carefully observe the action taken, especially that of your local representative."

Corporate Catholic activity and pressure on public officials to follow church policy in the zone of faith and morals—censorship to prevent the display, presentation or sale of certain plays, films, books (sometimes following close collaboration between Catholic priest and Catholic police chief); restrictions on marriage and divorce; opposition to planned parenthood; and sterilization of the unfit, etc. etc.—induces in Protestants the same antagonism to Catholic politics that is expressed toward the leaders of any often-successful pressure group by those on the other side of the issue. Last spring, Congressional offices sagged under piles of mail protesting—and in the end effectively blocking—the proposed visit of Marshal Tito to the United States; their postmarks made the outlines of diocesan interest plainly visible. Lutherans resent Catholic efforts to prevent the showing of their film *Martin Luther*. The Beacon Press of the Unitarian Church has published two widely-selling books by Paul Blanshard, *American Freedom and Catholic Power* and *Communism, Democracy and Catholic Power*, documenting this type of grievance. In Washington, the organization bearing the unwieldy title of "Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State" issues a monthly review, *Church and State*, warning against Catholic encroachments on traditional liberties.

Yet evidence is mixed on the extent to which Catholic

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laymen follow the guidance of their priests when that guidance does not find a clear source in the church's acknowledged area of spiritual authority and when strong feeling exists in opposition to the views of the hierarchy. A current contest of wills between clergy and laity on the matter of desegregation is illustrative.

Desegregation became Catholic policy prior to the Supreme Court decision. In the late 1940's and early 1950's the parochial schools were desegregated in a number of Southern states. Sometimes the change took effect smoothly. Sometimes there was only a passing struggle, as in St. Louis when Archbishop Ritter succeeded the aged Cardinal Glennon in 1946 and promptly discarded his predecessor's assumption that the parochial schools should follow the Southern pattern. Affected parents of St. Louis formed an organization, petitioned the Archbishop to reverse his course. On his refusal, they employed counsel, whom they instructed to proceed to enjoin the Archbishop. Next Sunday, a pastoral letter promised excommunication to any who associated themselves with this movement. The movement promptly collapsed.

But in the new Orleans parochial schools, by contrast, Archbishop Rummel has been pressured into deferring execution of the desegregation policy (in spite of the fact that he has declared segregation "morally wrong and sinful") and into following the line laid down by the state legislature which in 1954, in spite of the fact that its membership includes numerous prominent Catholics, passed with near-unanimity a series of statutes affirming the state's determination to retain segregation. A Catholic judge, Leander Perez, has been active in the New Orleans Citizens Council; Emile A. Wagner, Jr., is a leader of anti-integration forces on the board of the public schools. A year and a half ago a fiery cross was burned on the grounds of the Archbishop.

Thus, in August, 1956, Rummel stated that desegregation of the parochial schools would be delayed until September, 1957, and then introduced gradually. Even so, an association of Catholic laymen was formed to resist it; the Archbishop threatened the 30 directors with excommunication; they appealed to the Pope to nullify the Archbishop's threat and declare that segregation is not sinful.

The Archbishop, on August 9 of this year, reiterated that, once baptized, all men are "equal sons in the house of the Father"; two days later, word circulated that the Pope would not reply to the segregationists' petition.

Yet at the moment, both the public and the parochial schools of Louisiana are unintegrated. It seems possible that, on occasion, other authorities than the Supreme Court, to quote the indubitably Catholic commentator, Mr. Dooley, tend to "follow th' illiction returns."

The third and final article in this series—"Public Office and Religious Affiliation"—appears next week.

South Vietnam—Shaky Bastion

After three years in Saigon, a British correspondent concludes that despite generous American aid and general acclaim in the West, Vietnam "is one of the least stable countries in Asia."

by **DAVID HOTHAM**

THE RECENT bomb outrages against Americans in Saigon are not merely sporadic and meaningless incidents. They are the red light from which the West should take warning. France lost the northern half of Indo-China to the Communists after an eight-year war which ended in May, 1954. Today the Americans are in danger of losing the southern half of Indo-China, for different reasons but to the same enemy.

South Vietnam has been represented by Western propaganda as the success story of Asia: While other parts of the continent are over-run by Communism or wavering in a dangerous neutralism, South Vietnam, under its stout President Ngo Dinh Diem, is the most stable country in the area and the "bastion of the free world in Southeast Asia." This is the story which has gone out to the world, almost without contradiction, and that is what most people in the West think about Indo-China when they think about it at all. There is only one flaw in this story—it is totally untrue! South Vietnam today is one of the least stable countries in Asia. It has been possible for Western propaganda to portray it as

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stable by drawing over the confused whirlpool of its internal ferment a massive but discreet curtain of dollars and misleading publicity.

The present writer spent nearly three years in Saigon as the correspondent of an English newspaper. He has no axe to grind other than to make what contribution he can to the over-riding objective of saving the people of this corner of Asia from the desperate system of Communism. It is his view that Western policy in South Vietnam has gone completely off the rails, and unless it is radically changed *now*, will utterly fail in its main objectives. If South Vietnam goes Communist, or is again plunged in chaos, it will be a dangerous shock for the Western world and a menace for the rest of Asia. Such, however, is the danger today, and the Western nation mainly concerned is the United States.

Into this little country of 11 million inhabitants the US has pumped about $770 million of aid since the end of the Indo-China War in 1954. It has given the government of President Ngo Dinh Diem every kind of support that a great power can give to a small—diplomatic, military, economic, moral. Yet, it has to be admitted, and the Americans themselves do admit it, that those who bring this unstinting aid are not liked in the country to which they bring it, and that the economic situation there, instead of improving as the result of it, is rapidly deteriorating. What is wrong?

WHEN the Indo-China War was lost the best hope of saving the South from Communism depended on three main objectives of Western policy being achieved—and achieved with the least possible delay. These were: *first*, to unite South Vietnam under a political leadership which had a popular basis among its own people; *second*, to give the South genuine political and economic independence so that it could stand up against, and indeed outbid, Communist North Vietnam in this respect; *third*, a more long-term, but perhaps even more important objective than the other two, to lift the standard of living of the Asian masses south of the 17th parallel at a speed greater than those masses might suppose that Communism could do it for them. The fulfillment of these three objectives within a measurable period was the pre-condition of a victory for the West in what was left to them of Indo-China. Despite the massive aid program none of these objectives have been achieved. They have hardly even been tried.

Let us take them one by one. First, the political leadership. Western policy-makers justify themselves often by pointing out that President Ngo Dinh Diem, despite prophecies of his imminent fall, is still in place. Diem has held the fort, true. But how has he managed to hold it? In two ways: he has been provided by American aid with an immense army and police force which, during the period of exhaustion which followed the long wars, enabled him to defeat the sects and his other political enemies, who had small armies and little money. Second, he has held, let it be frankly admitted, because of Communist abstention. During the three years since he came to power there has been neither aggression from the North, nor any determined attempt by the Communists to subvert the Southern regime from within. We should not deceive ourselves by putting the cart before the horse. We should not suppose that the Communists have done nothing because Diem has been in power; it is rather that Diem has remained in power because the Communists have done nothing. Moreover, to assume that because Diem has remained in place his regime has therefore a popular basis is a flagrant error, as any dispassionate person in Saigon will tell you.

I have no wish to depreciate Diem personally. He is a courageous man, with numerous good qualities. But he is not a popular leader, and it is only by dint of intense and continuous propaganda that his name has even become widely known among the people of the South. (Diem is a native of Hue, in Central Annam.)

What is more serious is that Diem has failed completely to unite the South. To do this was a *sine qua non* of any successful resistance to the Communists. It is often forgotten that the national hero of Vietnam was not Diem, but the Communist Ho Chi Minh, and the national party which outbid all the others for independence from French rule was the Communist Viet-Minh. There was no hope of fighting against this strong natural current unless all the anti-Communist elements in the South could be strongly led against it. The opportunity to do this was lost from the very beginning. Diem crushed the sects, the natural enemies of the Viet-Minh, instead of leading them. He suppressed the revolutionary committees, which at least represented something of a popular movement. He used his police to squelch the anti-Communist intellectual opposition. All these imbecilities were ignored or openly supported by the Western powers.

More recently Diem has taken an even more foolish step. He has humiliated the powerful Chinese community in the South by compelling all Chinese born in Vietnam to take Vietnamese nationality without the option. (This is roughly equivalent to Guatemala forcing all Americans born in that country to become Guatemalans.) By this means he has turned the Chinese, about 800,000 strong, who were hitherto politically neutral, if not immediately toward Peking at least away from Formosa. As they control the more important commerce in the country, a blow has been struck at the economy of the South which all the massive foreign aid program may not suffice to put right. What is extraordinary is that these incredible mistakes of policy have been represented by Western publicity services as successes of the regime. In fact they have annihilated the forces of anti-Communist nationalism in the South, on which alone the West could hope to rely in the long run to lead the population against

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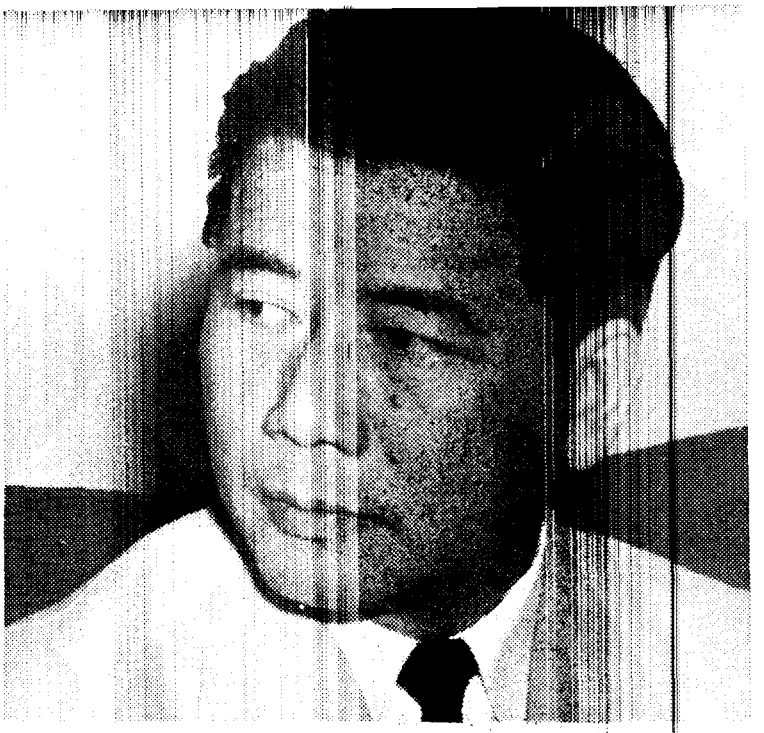
the powerful natural influence of the Communists among a materially backward people.

So much for the political leadership. Let us now turn to the other two Western aims, independence for the South, and the raising of the standard of living. These two hang together, as they both depend on the American aid program. South Vietnam has been much vaunted as having true independence, because the French army withdrew last year and political institutions and a constitution etc. have been framed. In fact it has no independence at all. How can a country be independent when its entire army is financed by a foreign power? The very idea is an absurdity! How can a country be independent when more than 80 percent of its imports are paid for, not by its own exports, but by the Treasury in Washington? These facts alone suffice to make the point. In this context political institutions mean nothing. Far from being independent, South Vietnam today is one of the most dependent countries in the world! The Vietnamese in the South know this, and it riles them to the danger point.

US aid has been generous. But how has it been spent? 64 percent of the $770 million poured into the little country since 1954 has been used simply to pay the wages of the 150,000-strong army. There is much talk of "the blessing of security" which the army bequeaths to the people. But in South Vietnam today it does nothing of the sort. Since the defeat of the sects in 1955, Diem's army and police have been notorious for their activities in the villages—widespread arrests and imprisonment without evidence and without trial of persons suspected of being Communists or "enemies of the State." According to reliable sources, about 14,000 persons were arrested in Central Annam alone at the time of the March, 1956, elections. Since then the process has, according to all reports, increased rather than diminished. Far from giving security, there is every reason to suppose that the army, buttressed by the Civil Guard (a sort of rural police of 50,000 men), is regarded by the Southern peasant as a symbol of insecurity and repression.

From there we go to the other argument: that so large an army is required by the exigencies of the international situation to ward off an attack by the Communists across the 17th parallel. This argument is founded on a false premise. An aggression across the parallel, should it occur, would be decided in Moscow and Peking. The deterrent to such an aggression is not the South Vietnamese army, the fighting value of which is very doubtful: it is the Manila Treaty, the possibility of Western intervention with tactical atomic weapons or even the hydrogen bomb, and behind that world opinion, the guardian of which on the spot is the International Control Commission in Indo-China.

If Diem's army contributes little or nothing to the advancement of the Southern people, neither does the resettlement of the Northern refugees. This was a great, successful human operation (though it was also of course a maneuver in the Cold War). But to settle nearly 900,000 Tonkinese refugees, two-thirds of them Catholics, among the primarily Buddhist population of Cochin China, was not calculated to endear a Catholic president and his Western supporters to the people of the South. The latter have besides every reason to be envious of the money spent on these undesirable visitants from the North, and of the houses, work and land—all of which are short in the South—with which they were provided.



President Ngo Dinh Diem

The upshot is that more than four-fifths of the whole gigantic aid program has failed to contribute in any direct way to the well-being of the Southern population, which should of course have been the primary objective since the beginning. None of it has been used to cure the growing unemployment. Almost none has been used to build houses for the people. Not a single industry has been created in the South since the end of the Indo-China War. The Southern population, which knows well enough what large sums have been spent in its country, knows equally well that almost none of this money has come its way. This not only breeds hatred of the West, it contradicts the whole principle of Western aid to "backward" countries—the principle of preventing Communism by improving the lot of most of the people.

In passing, one wonders whether the best method has been chosen to give this aid—a cumbrous bureaucracy in Saigon, many offices and much paper work, large houses and cars for the officials, the PX stores, pay far above local wages for the US staff, and facilities for that staff to change their dollars at advantageous rates not available to others. The result is that the American residents form an extra-rich class. Can this be a help in averting Communism in a poor country? This class, moreover, has very few links with the people. Very few of the officials can speak the language. Is this method likely to endear these

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men, whose devotion to their duties is not in question, to the Asian masses? The Vietnamese have recently thrown out one Western power, France, and patently have no desire to install another.

Why is it necessary, for example, for the American military advisory headquarters in Saigon, which until recently was housed in a suitably discreet suburb, to move into a vast building in the most central square of the city, immediately opposite, and several stories higher than, the South Vietnamese National Assembly? A greater psychological error is hardly conceivable. But, to revert to the general question of the method of giving aid to these countries, would it not be better to send out men who are trained in the language, who can live in the villages among the people, who can teach the people how to breed chickens, to improve their cattle, to dig wells, increase their crop yields, drive tractors, and all the innumerable techniques which we in the West have learnt, and could pass on to those who have not done so?

It is untrue to say that South Vietnam is a colony of the United States, but American policy is falling into the same error in Asia as that of the colonial nations—failure to realize what the dependent people are thinking. "South Vietnam is the bastion of the free world against Communism in Southeast Asia," says the State Department over and over again. This phrase alone betrays what is wrong. It shows that Washington thinks of Vietnam simply in strategic terms—a mere piece of territory, a salient in the Cold War. It does not seem to occur to the strategists that 11 million human beings live in the "bastion," 11 million people whose wishes and interests may be, and almost certainly are, quite different to theirs. These people have no reason to love the West. They have no reason whatever to hate Communism. The Communists, under Ho Chi Minh, fought for and won their national independence against the regular French army, supported by the US at a time when Ngo Dinh Diem was living piously in a seminary in New Jersey. For the people of Vietnam, North and South, Diem is not an outstanding national leader at all. He is *"l'homme de l'Amerique."*

THE most serious side of the whole affair, in the long run, is perhaps that the West, and the US in particular, will be identified in the minds of this particular lot of Asians with an inefficient and yet at the same time repressive regime. There is in South Vietnam no freedom of the press; there are ordered verdicts in the courts, and the clauses of the liberal constitution are a dead letter. The whole regime is a façade, propped up by money from across the seas. Saigon has been groomed up to receive the delegates of the Colombo Plan conference. The houses have been newly plastered, the taxis painted blue. Behind the façade, the economic situation rots hourly. The Franco-Chinese commercial system is collapsing; and there is nothing yet to replace it. The unemployed number hundreds of thousands. Beggars, disguised as photographers or the sellers of impossible objects, accumulate in the Rue Catinat. A deep lethargy hangs over the economy. With all the huge influx of aid—American, Colombo Plan, United Nations, and a multitude of charitable organizations—nothing is done to build houses for the people, nothing is done to create new industries. How is it imagined that the standard of living of a whole Asian people can be raised appreciably in a short time without the creation of a single new industry?

If the Americans do not act, their identification in the Vietnamese mind with a repressive and incompetent regime may prejudice the whole Western position in Asia, for Vietnam is only typical of what is happening in the other "containment" countries. The Americans must open their eyes. South Vietnam is a police state in which the Americans are training and equipping the police. It is no use saying: "It is better than in the Communist North!" No doubt it is, but how can you convince the people of the South, who have never lived under Communism, that it is?

It is easy to be critical; it is less easy to be constructive. But in this case what ought to be done sticks out a mile. It is to take the original principles of policy out of the pigeon-holes, dust them off, and then simply *apply* them. To unite the South, all the anti-Communist elements available in the country should be brought in to help the running of the country, instead of being kept out. It is painful to see so many able men kicking their heels in idleness and frustration in South Vietnam. Secondly, the aid program should be recast (whether or not the volume of aid is cut) so that it aims at making South Vietnam economically independent of the US within the shortest time possible. At the same time, the total amount of the aid should be spent on improving the living standards of the people who live in the country to whom it is given, and not on anything else.

If these objectives are clear, the means to achieve them will become clear. Some industrialization will certainly be involved—probably a good deal. The execution of the long-paralyzed land reform will be imperative. Some policy for the reunification of the country—instead of, as at present, no policy at all—will be essential. The idea of the "bastion of Southeast Asia" should be discarded. To persevere with it is to make absolutely sure that the "bastion" crumbles within the next few years.

A final point may be added. If President Ngo Dinh Diem objects to such a change in policy, the West should remember that South Vietnam is *not* in fact economically independent today. Pressure can and should be used. Gross mistakes have been made in South Vietnam. The Western policy-makers should realize that the whole aim and object of their policy is not merely to keep one particular man or group of men in power. It is to live up to their declared principles. If they do not act now, it will be too late. They will have done permanent harm to their future in Asia.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

Angus Wilson's Guide to Modern England

by Michael Millgate

IT IS, of course, the characters in Angus Wilson's new book of short stories who are off the map, hopelessly lost in a land of shifting values and changing class-lines—not the author himself. He, indeed, sits squarely in the middle of the contemporary English scene, like a supersensitive radar scanner sweeping the horizon on every side. With one exception, the stories in *A Bit Off the Map* are set in the post-1945 period, and, with his references to Suez, Elvis Presley and the Angry Young Men, Wilson contrives to seem as up-to-date as this morning's newspaper. He even manages to make the Angry Young Men themselves look old-fashioned: for he is more aware than most of that group seem to be of the political and social forces at work in Britain today, and much better equipped to convey this awareness in terms of human relationships.

A Bit Off the Map, by Angus Wilson (Viking; $3.50).

Wilson's newest novel, *Anglo-Saxon Attitudes*, took a great sweep through English life at many levels; one was always conscious of the social structure which conditioned the words and actions of the characters, and even their very emotions. The new stories, in a sense, complement the novel. There are eight of them (three long, four short, and one in-between), and they deal with, for example, young civil servants and their wives living on the dreary outskirts of a "new town," a rich and ennobled business family, working-class and lower middle-class village life, a wealthy Jewish family and its less opulent connections, the London half-world of "Teddy boys" and espresso bars. It is a wide range, and, altogether with *Anglo-Saxon Attitudes*, *A Bit Off the Map* could safely be recommended as probably the best and certainly the most enjoyable short guide to contemporary English life—with none of the nastiness shirked and just a little of the niceness suggested.

Although Wilson remains a collector of bugs rather than butterflies (there are, after all, a great many more species of them), this is a much warmer book than *The Wrong Set* or *Such Darling Dodos*, Wilson's two previous volumes of short stories. He puts his characters in the pillory still, all their weakness and wickedness exposed, but he invites us to pity rather than pelt them. Some readers may regret this partial mellowing, for satire, with its uncomplicated viewpoint, often makes for greater incisiveness: the characters may turn out to be caricatures, but most of us are suckers for monsters anyway.

Perhaps none of these stories has quite the kick of, say, "The Wrong Set" from Wilson's first collection — but then Wilson, who began writing rather late (at the age of 33), sprang suddenly and fully-armed upon the literary scene, and some of those first stories are almost perfect of their kind. Wilson has advanced in the present volume in his greater humanity, his fuller, rounder characterization, which may also be a product of his experience as a novelist, and his readiness to tackle new kinds of characters and new areas of society.

Not that there is any falling off in technical skill here. One or two of the shorter stories seem makeweights, but most of the book is right up to Wilson's own high standards. The title story is quite masterly. Of *novella* length, it is told partly objectively and partly through the mouth of a character Nathanael West might have created—a fantasy-crammed "Teddy boy," with skin-tight jeans, lacquered hair and a face that is "a mixture of John Keats and cretinism," who prowls the London espresso bars in search of the Truth. This is Kennie Martin, a modern grotesque if ever there was one—yet frighteningly true to life. Wilson, with his uncannily accurate ear for dialogue (does he carry a tape-recorder in his inside pocket?), catches the tone and manner exactly: "See, some people go about like it doesn't matter why we're here or what it's all for, but I'm not like that. I want to get at the Truth." Kennie joins up with The Crowd, a sorry bunch of would-be writers and sex-happy hangers-on, in common discipleship to Huggett, "a sort of philosopher and a mystic too," who is about the same age as Kennie himself. Huggett's philosophy turns out to be a rather half-baked version of Nietzscheanism (à la Colin Wilson), and, after one of those disastrous parties Angus Wilson is so fond of and good at, the story ends on Hampstead Heath at one o'clock in the morning with a half-crazed Kennie battering a quite-crazed ex-Colonel and saying: "And it's all, all of it, a bloody cheat and I don't know what I shall do."

ALL the stories illustrate in one way or another the blurring of class-lines in contemporary England, the break-down of the old social patterns. In some of them Wilson seeks in addition to expose the essential falsity of the old philosophies to which people are currently turning in the attempt to recover some sense of being recognizably "on the map." "A Bit Off the Map" does this for Nietzscheanism.

"More Friend than Lodger," the funniest of these new stories, is a first-person account by a thorough-going bitch, the young wife of a rather stuffy publisher, of her calculated adultery with a high-grade confidence man. Her answer to the unsatisfactoriness of life is an utterly selfish and ruthless hedonism

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which leads her to betray, in effect, both her husband and her lover.

Since 1949 Angus Wilson has published two novels (with a third promised us early next year), three volumes of short stories, a play *(The Mulberry Bush)* which has been successfully performed in London and on television, a much admired study of Zola, and a lively skit on the twenties *(For Whom the Cloche Tolls)*. It is a remarkable achievement.

The Scope of Rebecca West

by Dachine Rainer

REBECCA WEST'S critical writings, *Strange Necessity* and *Ending in Earnest*—collections of essays now unfortunately long out of print—are remarkable for her passionate affirmation of art. The only other critic similarly dedicated, and as moving, is Edmund Wilson, on whose behalf, more than a quarter century ago, Miss West wrote her concluding essay in *Ending in Earnest*—a masterpiece of dangerous wit and alarming heroism. She ranges widely in these works, going to bat for the persecuted or ignored writers of the early decades of this century—Joyce, Lawrence, Toller . . . demolishing current fads, taking spectacular and much deserved whacks at the then New Criticism. When she is wrong it doesn't matter, any more than it matters that Wilson was "wrong" about Edna St. Vincent Millay; there is an absence of pedantry and a grandeur to their overwhelming convictions about literature.

The Court and the Castle, by Rebecca West (Yale; $3.75).

I wish I could say something half as nice about these essays, enlarged from a series of lectures delivered at Yale. Unfortunately, politics, which has been Miss West's undoing on many previous occasions, is a rather heartless business, and one requires every bit of mind one can scare up. While one cannot, with any justice, pay adequate attention in a short space to all those vagrant notions which meander around this present collection—a study of the nature of man as individual and as public figure as seen through the work, as she perceives it, of Shakespeare, the 19th Century novelists, Proust, and Kafka—her main point, which it seems to me I've heard before, is that power—whether exercised by king or bureaucrat—corrupts, but (ah! corrupt corollary) that it is a necessary evil.

The goodies in *The Court and the Castle* are incidental and not as closely packed as in her earlier critical writing, but she does range widely and there are various examples of her earlier brilliance: Her interpretation of Ophelia, for example, as a loose chick anxious not to be beheaded, while not entirely new, and suffering from Miss West's pro-feminine bias (she sometimes still sounds like a character out of *Rosmerholm*) is far more tempting than the conventional portrait of Ophelia.

Her definition of a major work of art is excellent; so, too, her speculations on the decline of the verse drama in favor of prose plays and, eventually, of the modern novel. Her remarks on Trollope, Dorothy Richardson, her comparison of Ophelia with Proust's Albertine are astute, entertaining, highly imaginative, and not infrequently, provocative. Although she has sacrificed flamboyance for pedantry (an unsatisfactory exchange when one considers the irreverent wit and eloquence of *Ending in Earnest*) her style is often still superb. One almost forgets the arrogance and intransigent wrong-headedness before her startling, apt metaphors. Almost, but not quite. One can't escape for long her political naiveté, which sometimes borders on the idiotic:

> Let us never be ungrateful to the 19th Century, for it gave us many and magnificent reforms. The trade union . . . women were emancipated . . . steady progress in penal reform; many civil servants devised services which alleviated the horrible conditions . . . men and women gave away great fortunes to charity, and voluntary social work-

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ers subjected themselves to discipline and became armies of helpfulness. These were the days when the possessing classes made up their mind to the sharing of possessions which has begun in earnest in the Britain of our time. So steady was the advance toward social and economic equality, it is safe to say that had it not been for the first World War and the ensuing train of disasters, the West might have become the most civilized society that the world had yet seen. . . .

But really! a view of political history in which its World Wars are *incidental* calamities!

For Miss West's sake, I shouldn't like to feel that anyone will be moved to read this book before they've read her superior critical writing—or at least her *Henry James, St. Thomas Aquinas, Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*—or any of her novels, particularly, the most recent, magnificent *The Fountain Overflows;* for whatever else one may decide the attributes of man to be, limitless time, patience and charity are not among these.

The Wise Use of Natural Resources

by Charles H. Stoddard

IT IS FITTING that a popular historical reappraisal of the Conservation Movement should be written at the time of the 50th anniversary of the Roosevelt-Pinchot Governors' Conference of 1908 which gave the movement its initial impetus. In treating his subject Coyle brings together, in chronological order of development, the several fields of activity popularly grouped together under conservation: forestry; water conservation and river development including power, navigation, irrigation and flood control; soil conservation; as well as conservation of wildlife, fuels and minerals.

Conservation, by David Cushman Coyle (Rutgers; 5).

The fact that the Conservation Movement—a uniquely American phenomena—developed largely from an unusual combination of political forces is too often lost sight of today. These forces were strong federal leadership on the part of T.R.; the flowering of scientific knowledge relating to resources by the turn of the century which scientists, particularly in the Federal government under the leadership of Pinchot, aggressively sought and applied; as well as the agrarian and progressive reform movements which were its natural allies. Many conservationists today will be surprised to learn that the Conservation Movement developed from such "radical" origins and that it was resisted strongly by conservative political forces.

A name was needed to distinguish this movement from the earlier pure "preservation" philosophy. Pinchot is credited with adopting the term "conservation" for the movement while riding on a Rock Creek bridle path in Washington, D. C. In order to pacify critics who knew nothing of forestry and managed grazing, Pinchot was anxious to distinguish his concept of "wise use" *vs.* "locking up" of resources. Thus the term conservation, which appeared to him to epitomize his philosophy of "wise use" with respect to *all* resources, was adopted.

Although Coyle gives the highlights of the early and middle history of the Conservation Movement as background, his major emphasis is on the New Deal and subsequent periods. Soil and wildlife conservation programs are adequately described as are public cooperative. electric power programs.

However, the author gives little space to National Park, Wilderness and recreational area preservation programs which entered the movement much earlier than public and cooperative power. Wildlife conservation is given somewhat better treatment, yet it is difficult to find in the book the reasons why wildlife and recreational groups today form a more active portion of the conservation movement than the older elements such as forestry. Presumably this may be partly due to their very widespread emotional appeal to the laymen. But also it is partly due to the fact that the money spent by sportsmen provides the greatest financial support of most state conservation departments.

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Hitler's Personal Meistersinger

by Harry T. Moore

IN THIS AGE of apologia, Putzi Hanfstaengl is less dull than most of his fellow-travelers on the Road Back, and some of his escapades in higher Nazi circles sound as if they were out of a novel by Franz Kafka about Falstaff.

Putzi, who dislikes his nickname but hasn't been able to get away from it in his seventy years, was born in Germany but is part American: one of the New England Sedgwicks, mind you, and a 1909 graduate of Harvard. His friends there, he tells us, included Lippmann, Eliot, Reed, and Benchley. At the outbreak of the 1917 war, Putzi, then managing the New York branch of the Hanfstaengls' art-publishing firm, was allowed to remain here, though he seems to have been interned in Central Park. He returned to Germany after the war, where in 1922 he met Hitler and became his hopeful admirer, his financial backer, and his personal meistersinger. Putzi's present recollection of the early Hitler is that he looked like an off-duty waiter or a provincial barber, and that he "pontificated." If this kind of second-guessing sounds ungraceful now, please remember that Putzi has a case: after all, he introduced the ungrateful Hitler to "civilized society," and ultimately it was the Nazis who finally gave Putzi the chuck, and not vice-versa.

Unheard Witness, by Ernst Hanfstaengl (Lippincott; $4.95).

In 1937 when he was Foreign Press Chief but slipping out of Hitler's favor, Putzi was ordered on a peculiar secret mission to Spain, then at war with itself. Putzi provides a photo of his departure, when he was uncomfortably harnessed in a parachute. He was jammed into a plane which before long put down for an emergency landing near Leipzig. There the pilot, who had recognized his passenger, told him that he had orders to drop him on the Spanish Loyalists. Putzi left Leipzig by train and promptly disappeared over the Swiss border. A few years ago, he sought out this pilot and learned from him during "a particularly liquid lunch" that his orders had really been even more grim than he had let on. He was to have made Putzi bail out over one of Goering's air shows, to be a moving target for anti-aircraft gunners.

When the authors of this little prank learned that Putzi had turned up in England, they tried to snooker him back, like Captain Katzenjammer clumsily trying to hide a paddle behind him and promising Hans and Fritz ice cream if they'd come home to supper. But Putzi stayed in England, and during World War II was interned there, in Canada, and in the United States.

Now back in Germany, Putzi says he never joined in the Nazis' worst excesses, such as anti-Semitic activities. But what kept their movement going if not anti-Semitic activities? What else was Putzi paying for when he bought the boys a press for their Party newspaper? He tells, for example, of his first meeting with Alfred Rosenberg, "a singularly ill-favored individual who . . . looked half-Jewish in an unpleasant sort of way." Get that. And Putzi says Hitler's early speeches attacked the Jews not so much for "racial" reasons as for their profiteering, which he says was widespread. No mere fellow-traveler, Putzi was a party member who believed that the Nazis were "restoring national dignity and honor."

During those violent years when Putzi was learning, or not learning, that the Nazis would ignore all his suggestions about the necessity of understanding international affairs, he remained Hitler's cap-and-bells boy. Or rather his piano boy, who would soothe the Führer by playing Wagner for him. He could even, on these occasions, get Hitler to listen to "reason" between bouts of the Fire Music. The inner-circle Nazis, toward each of whom Putzi manifests jealously in the course of this book, tried to separate him from his piano when Hitler was around.

IN THE BEST manner of a *Confidential* article, including interviews with Hitler's girl friends, Putzi spills what he knows, or thinks he knows, of the private life of his associate of 15 years who he thought would restore "honor and dignity" to Germany. Now he says the Führer was a Peeping Tom, a homosexual, and an impotent man, who drew obscene sketches of the young niece he drove to suicide. In a bit of casual reasoning remarkable for a man with a Ph. D. in history from Munich University, Putzi suggests that the smashed cities of Europe were the result of Hitler's impotence.

But let's not be too rough on Putzi: at least he wasn't a man to make a snap judgment: what so many people learned about the Nazis in less than 15 minutes, Putzi learned in 15 years—and then he really didn't break away until after the boys symbolized his status by trying to make him an ack-ack target of the kind known as a dummy

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Notes on Contributors

MICHAEL MILLGATE is a young British critic. A new novella of DACHINE RAINER'S appears in the current *New World Writing.* CHARLES H. STODDARD is on the staff of Resources for the Future. HARRY T. MOORE is on the faculty of Southern Illinois University. HENRY POPKIN is drama critic of *Prospectus.*

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THEATRE

Confusion Over Compulsion

THE BATTLE over *Compulsion* has been raging for a few months now; it possibly has more drama in it than the play which recently opened in New York.

Meyer Levin wrote the novel, which faithfully follows the facts of the Loeb-Leopold case of 1924. He dramatized it himself, but now he charges that a new dramatization has been substituted and the subject vulgarized. Since he had previously agreed to abide by the director's decision in any such dispute, he was unable to win any satisfaction in court; the director, Alex Segal, sided with the producers. Having lost in court, Levin took to the newspapers. His advertisement, which appeared just before Yom Kippur, urged the producers to join in the spirit of the holiday and permit the two versions to be presented alternately. He concluded:

> The theatrical public could find stimulation in the values posed by the differing texts. I trust that all people of good will may urge this solution.

People of good will failed to pitch in. Levin's next step was to send mimeographed copies of the two versions of play, his own and the producers', to every drama critic in sight.

Robert Thom replied that the version Levin represents as his own is 85 percent Thom's; the other is all Thom's. As for vulgarity, Thom returned the charge with interest, asserting that the young stars, Roddy McDowall and Dean Stockwell, would not appear in Levin's play.

Compulsion has managed to ride out mixed reviews and is said to be set to run through spring. The controversy may run even longer. The confusion is helped along by the way the play is described in its program—"Dramatization by (Producer's Version) Meyer Levin." Thom is credited only as "Assistant to the Producers." Levin, a veteran controversialist who has not yet given up the fight for his dramatization of *The Diary of Anne Frank,* is still fighting and has given a public lecture stating his side of the case. I have heard Michael Myerberg, the principal producer, and McDowall in separate radio interviews. Myerberg spoke rather tolerantly of Levin's opposition to certain changes in the script. McDowall, remarking that he finds the controversy distasteful, went on to praise Thom's revisions.

The confusion is surely completed by further changes made after the opening. The play originally ran till midnight, but it has now been cut and runs only to eleven-thirty.

Thom has added or tightened a good many laugh lines, has broken up or omitted some passages of interpretation, has sharpened some of the characterization in minor roles, and has eliminated some literary and Jewish references. The most significant change is in the role of Artie Straus (Loeb), played by McDowall who has reason to be grateful. Thom has made Straus more than ever the catalyst, the dominant figure, a suitable basis for McDowall's spectacular performance. The part is an amazing showpiece for McDowall; the best new laugh lines are either spoken by him or about him. He deftly wins his laughs, dances a frenzied Charleston, and chills us with his sadism. Perhaps what dazzled me was showmanship, rather than acting, but McDowall is quite a show, all by himself.

Do Thom's changes vulgarize the play? Simple answers do not suffice. To say Yes is to overlook the pedestrian qualities of the Levin script. It is solemn without being very serious. The Thom script is not much less profound—the profundity of either version is not likely to stagger anyone—but it *is* funnier. To make that observation is to accept the point of view of the murderers, or, at least, of Artie Straus. What's a murder, he might say, without a few laughs? What, indeed? replies Robert Thom.

We can let the changes speak for themselves. In the novel, the victim had been umpiring a baseball game. In Levin's script, the inevitable reference to killing the umpire is clumsily inserted. But when, in the play, Artie says, "Who killed the umpire?" he brings down the house. When Judd Steiner (Leopold) addresses a passionate love speech (Thom's invention) to Artie, Artie gets his laugh with a diagnosis: "It's just not normal." Urging Judd to rape a girl, Artie tells him, "Take your time. Do it tonight." Not all the laughs are Artie's. The girls make ambiguous references to their virtue. When a suspected pervert mentions his mother, a cop barks: "We want to know what you did to Paulie Kessler, Four Eyes, not what you do to your mother."

However flat some of these lines may sound, they all succeed on the stage. In every instance cited, the laugh line is either invented by Thom or improved from a clumsier effort by Levin. The cruelty of some of these jokes reflects the extent to which the spirit of Artie Straus governs the proceedings.

JUDD is the more learned of the murderers. Levin does not make him or his friends seem very intellectual, but he does throw in the names: Aretino, Plato, Poe, Schopenhauer, allusions to Wilde and Millay. Thom throws them out, changing the boys' script phrase of command from "Dorian says" to "Charley says." He even banishes Al Capone, who has a walk-on in Levin's play; Thom is determined not to strain anyone's brain or memory. Hard words, like *calculations, irrevocable, mundane, emolument,* and *reflex* are eliminated. Along with his intellect, Judd loses his responsibility as *raisonneur.* Most of his self-analysis is cut. But these omissions reduce Judd to no more nor less than a familiar stage type, the ambiguous young man in quest of tea and sympathy. Judd, played a bit uncertainly by Dean Stockwell, is slight, frail, delicately featured. The girl who might be able to save him, warmly played by Ina Balin, is tall,

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Compulsion, by Meyer Levin (producer's version; Ambassador Theatre).

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handsome, motherly. We have been here before, but it means less this time because no amount of tea or sympathy can possibly save him. He has already committed the murder, and a prologue has shown him in prison.

For the most part, *Compulsion* is dominated by Roddy McDowall's witty energetic performance as murderer. At precisely the moment when Levin makes him most despondent, Thom makes him jubilant and has him lead Judd and the girls to the speakeasy where he dances his Charleston. And yet, at other moments, the play seems to be seriously demanding sympathy and understanding for two sick youths. While Artie gaily scorns our help, the "serious" Judd is a conventional figure whose claim to intellectuality looks doubtful. Their defense relies at last upon the eloquence of Clarence Darrow, whose original speeches are used, but Darrow (called Wilk in the play) comes too late to save matters. His fleeting appearance, out of limbo, in the first act is more pretentious than portentious.

Compulsion is, finally, too many plays at once. It is a play about a notorious past event, about murder, about a contest between criminals and police, about homosexuality, about a trial, about the roaring twenties. Its various structures and patterns break down—all except Peter Larkin's ingenious set—into an odd collection of semi-historical incidents. What interest it has is ultimately the interest of fact and not of art. Many of us like to watch congressional investigations on television and to see Mike Wallace and John Wingate spearing their victims—or themselves. *Compulsion* has, at its best, just that kind of interest, only that to balance against the vigorous presence of Roddy McDowall.

HENRY POPKIN

MUSIC

The New Boy

THE POLITE HAZING which the New York critics gave Tschaikovsky's *Eugene Onegin* — when (after a 36-year absence) it was used as the Metropolitan Opera's seasonal curtain-raiser—reminds me of nothing so much as the treatment of the new boy in the old school. The question seemed to be, "What are *you* doing in *our* opera house?" *Time* and *The Times* called *Onegin* faded, and *The New Yorker's* critic, Winthrop Sargeant, dismissed it as lacking "anything approaching real melodic power."

Time is right. As a piece of theatre, *Onegin* is faded. But, in the name of sweet charity, what opera—between *The Barber of Seville* and *Pelleas* — isn't faded? If this is a fair question, then the better part of the Metropolitan repertory is fair game. But rather than make it so, I think that it is proper to consider the Met primarily as a museum for 19th Century opera, a museum in which *Onegin* is welcome and fresh exhibit.

Musically, however, *Onegin* has a great many charms, of which unfamiliarity is only one. In the first place, it is packed with tunes—tunes superbly adjusted to the resources commanded in their execution. The work lacks stylistic unity, but in its eclecticism (it has everything in it from fake Russian folk music to silver-plated Italian arias) it achieves a most entertaining variety. Then, too, it profits as the Mozart operas do from the fact that the composer—for all his fine theatre sense—was an accomplished symphonist, accustomed to the formal, harmonic and orchestral rigors of concert music. The whole work is informed by the liveliest sense of proportion between the singers and their orchestral accompaniment.

In saying that the piece lacks "real melodic power," Mr. Sargeant once again lays himself open to the charge of being relatively insensitive to unfamiliar music. And when he goes on to say that "Tschaikovsky's tunes are apt to be contrived affairs, made up from little repetitive recipes," Mr. Sargeant exposes himself to correction in point of fact: a phrase-by-phrase analysis of the main tunes in *Onegin* would show an extraordinary flexibility, not only in style but in actual writing technique as well. Power aside, the piece is melodically straightforward, and manages to show off the singers without festooning itself in garlands of clichés.

In Mr. Sargeant's remark about the "little repetitive recipes," I detect a faintly patronizing tone: Tschaikovsky isn't *chic*. Now it seems to me that Tschaikovsky's vice—if you can call it that—was nothing more serious than his habit of being a little too articulate. He was able to conceive works of considerable scope and to put them into a musical diction that has been comprehensible to people of unformed taste. If one reflects for a moment on the extraordinary difficulty of doing this, he will realize that Tschaikovsky's musical intellect—the intellect behind the execution of these spontaneously affecting pieces — was a large one, worthy of anyone's serious attention.

At the same time, it's anybody's guess as to how often a listener can give any sort of real response to a piece that he knows too well. And Tschaikovsky is, of course, cursed by having eight or ten of his best works played to death year after year. But since we're not likely to have a federal law protecting Tschaikovsky from the punishment of too frequent repetition, the next best thing is to do as the Metropolitan has done—to introduce his unhackneyed music.

One need not expect these pieces to be first-rate Tschaikovsky. *Onegin*, for instance, is not as compelling or as powerful as any of the last three symphonies. Nonetheless, it is a solid and well-made work, and gives us the pleasure of approaching Tschaikovsky with fresh ears.

FOR the new production, the Met has had the work translated into English, most of it doggerel:

> Now I am shaken and distracted
> By seeing how Eugene has acted.
> I feel the pangs of jealousy.
> I am depressed
> And the anguish I feel in my breast,
> And the anguish I feel in my breast
> Is like an icy hand that holds
> my heart in torment.

The directors, however, have thoughtfully provided a cast who, for the most part, appear to be singing in what Frank Campbell once described as "a language invented for the occasion," with the result that mercifully little of the text comes through. As Onegin, George London is clearly understood at all times, and he projects the role with the greatest authority.

ROBERT EVETT

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Correspondence

(Continued from page 3)

sure, in Tyler's evocation of *Ecclesiastes,* the counsel of humility and patience to those "who knoweth not what shall be." But this counsel seems to be directed either to those who fear Communism has already won the decisive battles, or to those who await its destruction too impatiently.

The genuine question about the Russian experiment no longer centers on how terrible was the cost of its industrialization, nor on the crimes and miscalculations of the Stalin era. It is the contradictions within Soviet society, and their probable dynamic, which require analysis.

Socialists, as distinguished from Communists, argued over these 40 years that Lenin's attempt to make the famous "leap" from Czarist backwardness would entail a self-defeating dictatorship; they insisted that only as industrial and democratic development had matured would Socialism be possible. Let us grant the merits of that view. But new productive relations have now matured, and have now produced a new working population, scientific and managerial forces within Soviet life. Are not these very factors able to alter the acute disproportion between out-moded though tenacious dictatorial forms and the now-ripened productive relations?

Perhaps the uncoiling of the wound-up springs of Soviet life do not require a revolutionary overthrow of the regime. May not a process of change, stimulated by peaceful competition with other societies, suffice? Is it illusory to expect a sort of "revolution by consent" may operate in Russia which many Socialist-minded analysts (am I inaccurate to include Tyler among these?) have long argued as most advisable for the evolution of Western capitalism? Can we not envisage changes of a democratizing character such as Socialists insist—and I surely agree with them—are possible for the West?

I am not discussing now whether Mr. Khrushchev is a conscious or unwitting instrument of such changes. Nor is there any doubt that the form of such changes, as George Kennan has stressed, will be thoroughly Russian. I am interested in the content of the matter, that is, whether a tenable view of historical change can be applied to the Soviet Union, and if not, why not? Otherwise, we get an ironic posture from those who insist that nothing but evolutionary change is possible for capitalism but who maintain that nothing less than violent overthrow, whether patiently awaited or recklessly advanced, suits the Soviet regime.

I for one (and perhaps many others than ex-Communists) feel this to be the true terrain of debate. It would be good to have so penetrating an analyst of our common past as Gus Tyler deal with the "next forty years" on this terrain.

JOSEPH R. STAROBIN

New York, N. Y.

***Mr. Starobin, who left the Communist Party in 1954, had previously been foreign editor of* The Daily Worker.**

. . . Mr. Tyler replies

OFFHAND, I would hold it "illusory" to hope that the Soviet Union will become democratic through a "revolution by consent." In a democracy, a "revolution" or—better, evolution—is possible and likely because a democracy is essentially composed to allow and encourage a process of progress through protest, resistance and compromise. A totalitarian system dams protest, forces anger to pile up, and almost makes inevitable a sudden and violent eruption. (Although Karl Marx is no final authority to me on any subject, may I nevertheless recall that Marx believed a peaceful change to socialism possible in the United States and England and not in the autocratic societies of 19th Century Europe only because the former were more democratic in their structure.)

On the other hand, it is not excluded that the Russian ruling class will grow so apart from the people, will become so internally rotten and divided, that democracy may be reclaimed by the Russian people with a push so mighty as to involve only peripheral violence. But I would hardly call that a "revolution by consent." I think there is a privileged ruling class in Russia that has too much to lose personally — and socio-psychologically—to consent to an abdication.

But, as Mr. Starobin contends, this is good terrain of debate, provided we approach it with close attention to reality rather than with illusions born not of the Soviet system as it is but as our hopes or fears would like it to be. And if there is enough interest by *The New Republic* readers on this subject, I would not mind opening up the debate in some future issue, although I have a frightening feeling that history loves to make fools of prophets.

GUS TYLER

New York, N. Y.

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► *It May Be More Blessed . . .*

SIRS:

IN a society where so many standards are set by Madison Avenue, it becomes increasingly difficult to argue fine, important moral points sensitively and at length. Reed Whittemore's piece on charity (*NR,* Nov. 11) is just such a good argument. Thank you for printing it.

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